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The Work of Jewish Agencies in the Field of Employment Discrimination

A Survey Report



Committee on Employment Discrimination
of the
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

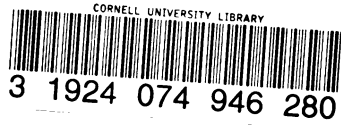
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פאראמען אויף די אידישע קאנאליעס. 1936.



The Work of Jewish Agencies in the Field of Employment Discrimination

A Survey Report

Survey Subcommittee

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Committee on Employment Discrimination

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

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Introductory Statement

THE PLENARY SESSION of the National Community Relations Advisory Council on March 15, 1947, authorized the publication of this survey. The survey itself was undertaken on instruction from the Committee on Employment Discrimination and the Executive Committee.

All the information was assembled and collected by the NCRAC staff. The plan of the study, however, and the resulting recommendations, were developed by a subcommittee consisting of George E. Segal of Cleveland, chairman; Claude A. Benjamin of Chicago, chairman of the Committee on Employment Discrimination; Judge Abraham Bloch of the Jewish War Veterans; Eli E. Cohen of the Jewish Occupational Council; and Sidney Hollander of Baltimore, vice-chairman of the Committee on Employment Discrimination. The recommendations were subsequently approved by the Executive Committee of the NCRAC and by the Plenary Session.

The study was based upon information secured as follows:

1. *Written answers to a questionnaire (Appendix, p. 46) distributed to NCRAC local community member agencies and Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds member agencies, and to other agencies known to have an interest in this field; answers were received from the following:*

NCRAC member agencies in Boston, Bridgeport, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Newark, Oakland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Springfield, Mass.

Chicago Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems

JVS agencies in Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and Springfield, Mass.

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds member agencies in Atlanta; Erie, Pa.; Fort Wayne, Ind.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Little Rock, Ark.; Los Angeles; Maine; Memphis; Miami; Pittsburgh; Portland, Ore.; Rockford, Ill.; Savannah, Ga.; Tacoma, Wash.; Valdosta, Ga.; Vicksburg, Miss.; Warren, O.; and Youngstown, O.

2. *Interviews covering the same ground (approved summaries of interviews, Appendix, p. 50 ff.) with representatives of the following national agencies:*

NCRAC member agencies:

American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee.

Other national agencies:

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds; Jewish Occupational Council; National Jewish Welfare Board.

3. *An informal reading of case records and other material offered for study by the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League.*

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The Role of Anti-Discrimination Work

AS INDIVIDUALS and as a group, Jews have shared in the general prosperity of the United States. The role of anti-discrimination work can be judged properly only in the perspective of a generally self-supporting community. Jewish job-seekers usually find it possible to avoid employers who are disposed to discriminate. When an individual does encounter discrimination, the usual course of action is to apply elsewhere, rather than by all means to seek entry into the barred job. Discrimination is an unmitigated evil; it has no doubt contributed to the continued concentration of Jewish workers in a restricted range of occupations,² and has dashed the hopes of many young Jews for particular careers which they find closed to them. Even in times of high employment, when few complaints of discrimination are received, it is an ever-present problem and a symptom of social disunity.

The depression and the war have demonstrated that discrimination may become a more imminent menace when intensified by downward shifts in the economic cycle and by increases in tension among groups. Insecurity in employment is one of the most challenging problems of our time for all workers. Jewish workers in the United States have felt insecurity in employment with double force. Added to the problems of choosing, finding, holding, and progressing in suitable work are the special problems which have arisen in part because of direct discrimination by employers, and in part because the range of skills and of vocational choice among Jewish workers has been more restricted and specialized than in the community as a whole.

Problems of employment discrimination are, therefore, related on the one hand to the day-by-day problems of vocational planning and employment seeking activities, and on the other

2. See, for instance, Sophia Robison, ed., *Jewish Population Studies*, Conference on Jewish Relations, N. Y., 1943.

to the problems of maintaining the security and morale of the American Jewish community. In order to preserve their economic well-being as a group and to assist individuals encountering problems, American Jews have sponsored agencies to combat this double threat. It has generally been regarded as a function of the local community welfare structure to assist with problems of occupational choice and job-seeking, and of the local and national community relations agencies to minimize and attempt to eliminate discrimination in employment, in each case as an integrated part of a larger responsibility.

Community Agencies

Most of the larger American Jewish communities support Jewish vocational service agencies which offer both guidance and employment services. In addition, special loan funds have traditionally been available for self-support enterprises. Vocational advice directed particularly towards the problem of Jewish occupational distribution has been made available on a national scale by the B'nai B'rith Vocational Service. The Jewish Occupational Council has been established to coordinate the activities of the major national and local community Jewish agencies in dealing with the problems which Jewish workers experience as individuals.

Other major efforts have been directed towards the elimination of discriminatory practices in employment as such. The major national Jewish community relations agencies have taken cognizance of the problem in one form or another, as have the local community relations agencies. During the depression which preceded the war, because the problems of employment discrimination represented so serious a threat to the livelihood of Jewish families, several communities experimented with special local offices designed to negotiate with employers and take such other local measures as would be necessary to increase employment opportunities for Jewish workers. Of these, only the Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems in Chicago remains today as an independent local community agency, sponsored jointly by three national agencies.

While the particular configuration of problems facing the

Jewish worker is unique, the general problem of denial of equal opportunity for employment affects many other groups. Action for fair employment has therefore tended to become increasingly joint action with general citizens' groups against intolerance, with organizations of the Negro community, and other groups which feel the weight of the problem. In part as a reflection of the efforts of these many groups, special public facilities for dealing with different aspects of the problem came into existence. The history of the federal Fair Employment Practice Committee is fresh in the minds of all. Federal activity of a sort is still continued through special directives governing fair practices in all of the offices of the United States Employment Service. New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts have, by law, established commissions with some power to apply sanctions, charged with responsibility for eliminating unfair employment practices in these states. Indiana and Wisconsin have state laws which do not provide sanctions. Action is pending or anticipated in a number of other states.

Present Conditions

At the time of this writing, our national economy offers conditions more nearly approximating full employment than any which existed before in peacetime. The pressure of individual Jewish job seekers unsuccessful in their search for employment is therefore at a minimum, although the need for placement service is underlined by memories of previous experiences and anxiety concerning future conditions. The demand for assistance with vocational planning has reached a high point both from new job seekers, inexperienced in the labor market, and from veterans seeking suitable vocational status in the post-war world. Overt discriminatory action was at a minimum during the war period, although it never disappeared altogether. The end of the war has seen a marked increase in reported instances of discrimination and in other symptoms of unfair employment practices.³

If, for any reason, the labor market should revert to a con-

3. See *Postwar Employment Discrimination Against Jews*, Committee on Employment Discrimination. National Community Relations Advisory Council, New York, 1946.

dition of comparative or marked job scarcity, the problems of discrimination would no doubt be felt in a much more painful and telling way by a large number of Jewish job seekers; along with this would come a recurrence of the need for special help in job finding. It must therefore be recognized that there is a close connection between the work of the special services established to assist individuals in their employment problems and the efforts undertaken to bring about conditions of employment based upon merit alone, free of discrimination. In this perspective, the present study is designed to explore and clarify the activities of the Jewish community relations agencies in combatting employment discrimination against Jews.

Current Activities to Combat Employment Discrimination

COMMUNITY relations agencies have conducted the following types of activities specifically to combat employment discrimination:

1. Attempting to eliminate discriminatory practices of individual employers and employment agencies by means of interviews and negotiations, either in response to a complaint or as a self-initiated activity;
2. Obtaining agreements from newspapers to eliminate discriminatory "help wanted" advertising;
3. Stimulating interest in the passage of adequate federal, state, and local fair employment practices acts, and in the efficient administration of such provisions once they have been enacted;
4. Mobilizing community support for equal job opportunity, and forming community-wide citizens groups for fair employment practices; and
5. Research on the problems of employment discrimination.

NATIONAL AGENCIES

While all the major national agencies in the community relations field are concerned with the problem of employment discrimination, only the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League conduct programs in the first area above, i.e., programs of case activity.

The American Jewish Congress reports that through its Commission on Law and Social Action, and previously through its Commission on Economic Discrimination, it has been engaged in case activity in the field of employment discrimination since 1936. The Congress estimates that approximately 40% of its total program is devoted to employment discrimination work. The professional staff employed by the Congress for carrying

on case activities include: Boston—1,* Philadelphia—2, New York—3 ("Excluding the National Director; an attorney who spends almost all of her time on incidental legal work in this field; and a member of our staff handling union problems who spends almost 50% of his time on employment matters"). The work of these three offices is coordinated through the National Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action in New York.

The Anti-Defamation League reports that its work in this field is handled by the Department of Social and Economic Discrimination, which is responsible to the Community Services Department. In the New York area, the full-time professional staff includes a Director, an Assistant Director, and two field workers. "Among those employed in the fifteen ADL regional offices," the ADL states, "are twenty-five professionals who are responsible for carrying out the national program of combatting economic and social discrimination within their respective areas. Clearance on cases is maintained between these offices and the national headquarters with referral to the appropriate unit best equipped to handle the particular complaint." Both the ADL and the Congress utilize the services of other departments together with volunteer help.

Although the other national agencies are all interested in employment discrimination work, none reports that it engages directly in case activities,⁴ nor that it has any professional staff assigned specifically to this area of work.

LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTIVITY

In order to ascertain the experiences and practices of local communities, questionnaires were sent to the professional heads of the community councils affiliated with the NCRAC, to the

**Note*—The function of the Boston Office of the Commission on Economic Discrimination have recently been transferred to the Commission on Law and Social Action and the person in charge will no longer devote his time exclusively to employment discrimination work.

4. In special instances, because of close personal contact, the Community Service Department of the American Jewish Committee may confer with an employer. The Jewish Labor Committee does accept cases involving complaints against unions and will confer with union leaders in such situations.

Directors of some Jewish placement and vocational guidance agencies, and to federation executives throughout the country. These questionnaires (Appendix, p. 46) sought information about existing programs, including statistics of operation, criteria of evaluation, and recommendations for an optimum practical national program.

Despite the rather wide distribution of these questionnaires, responses were received from only thirty-four communities. Seventeen of these responses were from communities affiliated with the NCRAC and, except for Chicago, the remainder were from small communities, none of which has a Jewish population of more than 13,000. In fact, the combined Jewish population of these latter sixteen communities is estimated as only 70,000. None of these communities maintains a formal program of combatting employment discrimination and although several indicated that on occasion they have handled individual complaints, in no instance was the volume sufficient to warrant statistical records.

Of the twenty-one communities affiliated with the NCRAC, all but Baltimore, New Haven, Oakland, and Rochester responded to the questionnaire. However, the seventeen reporting communities, together with New York and Chicago, for which we also have reports, embrace fully 80% of the total Jewish population in the country. Moreover, they include the major industrial centers, where the problem of employment discrimination would be expected to be felt most keenly. Furthermore, unlike the smaller communities referred to above, each has an over-all community relations program and a central agency for carrying out that program. Responsibility for employment discrimination activity, however, does not always reside in the community council, although this pattern is followed in ten of the seventeen reporting NCRAC affiliated communities. (Bridgeport, Cleveland, Detroit, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Minnesota, Newark, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco.) Two of these cities (Cleveland and Los Angeles) formerly maintained independent agencies devoted exclusively to employment discrimination problems. The Bureau on Employment Problems in Cleveland was absorbed by the Cleveland

Jewish Community Council in 1945, and the Bureau on Jewish Economic Problems in Los Angeles, which terminated its services early in the war, is currently being reconstituted as a committee of the Los Angeles Community Council.

Relationships With Vocational Services

In three communities (Springfield, Mass., Cincinnati, and Milwaukee), responsibility for employment discrimination work is vested in the local Jewish Vocational Service. In both Cincinnati and Milwaukee, however, the community council retains primary responsibility for legislative activity and for newspaper policy toward discriminatory advertisements. Conversely, the assistance of the JVS has been enlisted in different phases of the problem by several of the community councils. In St. Louis, for example, the JVS has undertaken the preliminary screening of all complaints; in Detroit, the JVS is utilized to secure information about Jewish occupational distribution, general labor market conditions, and as a source for complaints. Los Angeles reports close cooperation with the Jewish Employment and Counselling Service, while in Pittsburgh, the United Vocational and Employment Service is represented on the Committee on Employment Discrimination of the Community Council. In Chicago the BJEP reports close coordination with the JVS, including clearance of information about employers, joint planning of field-visiting programs, and an extensive research project on JVS applicants, as well as JVS referral of complaints.

In Boston and Philadelphia, by agreement with the respective local community councils, primary responsibility has been allocated to the American Jewish Congress. In Boston, the activities with regard to employment discrimination of the Congress are "subject to the control and supervision of a joint committee (of the community council) comprised of five Congress representatives and five representatives of the community council." In Philadelphia, "this results from a gentlemen's agreement between the Jewish Community Relations Council and the Philadelphia office of the Congress and is not the result of an official act by the Allied Jewish Appeal . . . thus, while the

Jewish Community Relations Council refers all cases to the Congress office, there is nothing which compels the B'nai B'rith or the Jewish War Veterans, for example, to send any of their complaints to the Congress. . . . Recently, however, the directors of the Employment and Vocational Service, the B'nai B'rith group vocational service, the Congress, and the Jewish Community Relations Council have been meeting monthly to exchange information and views on the economic needs of the Jewish community and may result in more knowledge for each of us."

"The Brooklyn Jewish Community Council has in the past, referred employment discrimination cases to the New York offices of the national agencies which operate in this field. However, in recent months the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council has handled employment discrimination complaints involving Brooklyn employers, and present plans of the Council include employment discrimination work as part of its full program."

Indianapolis maintains no organized program in the field of employment discrimination.

Independent Local Agency

The Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems in Chicago is the sole remaining independent agency devoted exclusively to the problem. "The Bureau was organized in December 1937 and is maintained by the American Jewish Congress, Chicago Division, American Jewish Committee, Chicago Chapter, and B'nai B'rith District Lodge No. 6. The policies of the Bureau are set forth by an autonomous Board of Directors composed of four representatives of each of the three supporting organizations, and two representatives of the Jewish Vocational Service and Employment Center, who represent the community at large."

Chicago and Philadelphia are the only cities outside of New York with full-time professional personnel assigned exclusively to employment discrimination work. The agency in each city employs two professionals. The present annual budget of the Bureau in Chicago is \$12,000.00. In each of the other communi-

ties, employment discrimination work is incidental either to community relations activities or to placement and guidance services. It is not possible, therefore, to determine the proportion of the agencies' total budget and personnel allocated to this particular function. Cleveland, which was the only community attempting such a breakdown, reports, "It is doubtful whether at the present time it exceeds \$500.00." The reports of the other cities suggest that the time and money spent on employment discrimination work is quite small in relation to over-all budgets and programs.

Neither the Congress nor the ADL apparently engages in independent employment discrimination work in any of the reporting communities affiliated with the NCRAC, except for the previously discussed agreements existing in Boston and Philadelphia, and Brooklyn where cases were referred to both agencies.⁵

In Chicago, BJEP reports, "The American Jewish Congress through its commission on Law and Social Action, Midwest Regional Office, and the B'nai B'rith through its national headquarters of the ADL, both engage in anti-discrimination work. Work against employment discrimination generally, and case activity specifically have been delegated to the Bureau for the Chicago area by both agencies. Both agencies refer to the Bureau all local cases of employment discrimination and cases originating elsewhere of firms with national headquarters in Chicago."

In the smaller unorganized communities, however, the pattern is quite different. Of the sixteen such communities responding to the questionnaire, thirteen indicated that the B'nai B'rith was engaged in local case activities.

STATISTICS OF CASE HANDLING

All agencies responding reported (Appendix, Table I, p. 43) a total of 1010 new and 643 cases closed in the eighteen month

5. "There is some history of the Congress writing directly to companies such as Procter and Gamble . . . but I do not recall any recent case of this sort."—*Cincinnati*.

The Director of the community council is the regional director of the ADL.—*Kansas City*.

period January 1945 through July 1946. These figures must be interpreted with great caution, since there is no assurance of comparability from agency to agency. It is probable that the totals represent a minimum estimate of case activity in employment discrimination, since the American Jewish Congress report for 1945 is incomplete. However, the ADL figures contain an unknown but substantial proportion of cases involving discrimination by resorts and other social discrimination not related to employment. It seems most unlikely, because of the small number of cases reported by local communities, that any significant amount of case activity was actually engaged in by Jewish agencies but was not reported in this survey.

The national agencies, the American Jewish Congress and the ADL, account for over three-fourths of the case activity in employment discrimination. Only Chicago, BJEP, whose case activity is comparable in volume to that of the national agencies, reports a significant amount of activity not under the aegis of one or the other of these agencies.

The ADL activity shows greater geographical coverage; the American Jewish Congress shows a higher volume of activity in 1946, the only period for which comparable data are available. The combined volume of activity does not appear to represent a large proportion of the potential volume, as suggested by the NCRAC survey "Postwar Employment Discrimination Against Jews."

Volume of case activity in local community agencies not operating directly as branches of either national agency is very small. The amount of activity on the part of NCRAC local member agencies is a very small proportion of the total, since almost all community case activity was accounted for by the Chicago BJEP, and in two communities the work is carried on by the local JVS agency.

PROCEDURES IN CASE HANDLING

The BJEP has given considerable thought to the procedures of case handling and has submitted a detailed outline of its practices. The other community reports, however, contain a

minimum of information of this character. A reading of sample records at both national agencies failed to reveal any basic differences in approach. Both the Anti-Defamation League and the Congress use volunteers to test an employer's practices to a far greater degree than do the community agencies. Although all agencies attempt on occasion to secure affidavits from complainants, this practice is considered routine by the ADL. In areas where state commissions exist there is a common referral of cases to such bodies. However, whereas the Newark agency routinely refers all cases to the State Commission, the national agencies tend to conduct their own investigations before resorting to the governmental body. On the other hand, the community agencies appear to include laymen in their negotiations with employers more extensively than does the ADL or the Congress. The available information, however, is too scanty to permit evaluation of the relative merits of these procedural differences. Fundamentally, the approach of all the agencies appears to follow the same general pattern of education and persuasion and there is no evidence of any attempt by a Jewish agency to impose sanctions on an offending employer.

LEGISLATION

In the five years since President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, FEPC has become a national issue. It is an issue on which all the national Jewish agencies have taken an open and unequivocal stand. Indeed, the National Jewish Welfare Board, which very rarely endorses specific bills, has done so in this instance and even beyond that has called upon its constituent bodies to help mobilize support for the legislation. The national community relations agencies have all participated actively in state and federal efforts to secure FEPC legislation. The ADL, American Jewish Committee and Jewish Labor Committee have contributed financially to the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. The Congress has done considerable work in developing model FEPC bills and ordinances.

On the community level, too, FEPC has become an integral part of Jewish community relations programs. Eleven of the 17 reporting NCRAC communities specifically refer to work

in this area and other available information indicates that the proportion is considerably higher. Efforts in behalf of fair employment legislation are not confined to the proposed federal bills. In fact, the community agencies appear to be much more actively concerned with state legislation and seven communities report steps towards the enactment of municipal fair employment practice ordinances. The allocation of work to the Congress in Boston and Philadelphia seems to be limited to case activity in that the community councils in both of these cities appear to have engaged in FEPC activity, while the Philadelphia agency also reports that it has been "reasonably active in the elimination of discriminatory newspaper advertisements."

Of the communities not affiliated with the NCRAC, Chicago reports work in behalf of federal, state and municipal legislation. None of the other communities, however, reports any such activity although here too, it is not unlikely that some unreported activity has been maintained.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

Efforts to induce local newspapers to refuse discriminatory help-wanted advertisements have been undertaken by most of the large communities and agreements prohibiting references to religion from such advertising have been effected with one or more newspapers in Chicago and at least 12 of the communities affiliated with the NCRAC. None of the reporting small communities makes any reference to work of this nature.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Work with employment agencies has in general occupied a relatively minor role in the total program against employment discrimination. The ADL handles complaints against employment agencies in the same manner as they handle other complaints but has not initiated any special project in this area. The Congress has initiated investigations of practices of agencies in New York and similar activity has been undertaken by the Congress in Philadelphia. The BJEP in Chicago appears

to have by far the most comprehensive program in relation to employment agencies. This involves not only complaints and self-initiated investigations, but an effort to effect the adoption of procedures which will result in more equitable referral of Jewish applicants and the utilization of employment agencies as a source of information about trends in discrimination as well as about the practices of individual employers. Chicago is the only community, however, reporting any work with employment agencies other than the routine handling of specific complaints. Similarly, with but a few exceptions (Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee), local community agencies have apparently failed to develop any close working relationship with local USES offices, despite the potentialities of that agency as an instrumentality for combatting discriminatory practices. With the return of the USES to state control, and the possible reversion to pre-war discriminatory referral policies and practices, increased community activity in this direction may be anticipated.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The educational and public relations aspects of employment discrimination work aimed at awakening the community to the dangers implicit in employment discrimination and at mobilizing widespread support behind appropriate action have occupied the attention of both national and local community relations agencies. This has included attempts to establish representative community-wide bodies to deal with the problem. All of the national agencies are represented on the New York Metropolitan Council for Fair Employment Practices and the local agencies have been active participants in the organization and program of the similar councils which have been established in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia.

Although the ADL, American Jewish Committee and Jewish Labor Committee all carry on intensive programs with the organized labor movement, these are considered an extension of their overall public relations programs rather than as a phase of employment discrimination work. Only the BJEP appears to have gone beyond the general public relations ap-

proach in an effort to enlist the participation of trade unions in projects specifically designed to combat employment discrimination: "The Bureau has always felt that the inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in union-management contracts represents potentially a most valuable technique in combatting employment discrimination, and, as a result of the recommendations of the Bureau, the National CIO Convention of 1944 officially adopted as its policy the approval of such clauses and urged CIO locals to incorporate non-discrimination clauses in their contracts with management." The Bureau has worked with various unions to help implement this policy and recently completed negotiations for an intensive survey of 50 CIO locals.

RESEARCH

Although several agencies noted the need for more definitive information than is presently available about the extent and areas of employment discrimination, the reports received reveal a minimum of activity designed to fill this need. Research into the patterns of Jewish occupational distribution appears to be much more a function of the Jewish Occupational Council and local JVS's than of the community relations agencies. Nor do the reports indicate any systematic utilization by the community relations agencies of the information now available through the JVS's, or development of that which is potentially available. The Congress has surveyed a few fields such as insurance to determine prevailing hiring practices and has made an extensive study of discriminatory newspaper ads. The B'nai B'rith Vocational Service has issued a series of monographs setting forth the requirements, opportunities and limitations in a variety of occupations. In these pamphlets, which are designed primarily for vocational guidance purposes, some attempt has been made to treat the problem of discrimination as it affects the opportunities for Jews in the particular occupation under discussion. Chicago is the only community which reports any continuous research program, which has apparently been closely integrated with that of the Chicago JVS.

Some Approaches to the Question of Evaluation

IN ORDER to lay the groundwork for a comparison of the effectiveness of the programs now in existence, opinions were solicited concerning the objectives and criteria for work in the field of employment discrimination.

Summaries of the opinions expressed by representatives of the national agencies are reported in the Appendix, p. 51 ff.

The following observations with regard to the opinions obtained are worthy of comment at this point.

Assuming the validity of the objectives, each agency's operations can be judged by effectiveness in attaining its own objectives. National and local agencies reporting were agreed upon these immediate objectives of case activity: (1) Eliminating discriminatory practices in the case handled and (2) minimizing the incidence of discriminatory practices. Each national agency also stated broader objectives for this specific program in terms of implementing its general organizational aims: the American Jewish Congress in terms of advancing, clarifying, and utilizing governmental provisions for non-discriminatory employment; the Anti-Defamation League in terms of dissipating prejudice and fostering good-will. Local agencies stressed the immediate objectives almost exclusively, some, such as Bridgeport and Fort Wayne, to the point of asserting that no local program against discrimination was needed because no complaints had been received.

With regard to the immediate objectives, Table II (Appendix, p. 44) shows that the American Jewish Congress claimed 48% of its cases closed in the period surveyed as "Satisfactorily Adjusted," as compared with 35% claimed by the Anti-Defamation League. The New York office of the American Jewish Congress claimed 57% as compared with 37% for the Eastern Regional office of the Anti-Defamation League. Because there

is no assurance that the standards were the same in both instances, the difference is suggestive, rather than conclusive, especially since we cannot compare the initial sampling of cases.

Possible further differences in procedures or in methods of statistical recording are shown by Tables III and IV, pp. 44 and 45. In the period reported, the proportion of cases initiated by complaint in the New York office of the American Jewish Congress was 56%, as compared with 93% for the ADL Eastern Regional office. Nationally, also, the same comparison holds, with over one-quarter of all Congress cases self-initiated, as compared with 10% for ADL. The number of cases closed by all Congress offices was 86% of the number of new cases, whereas the Anti-Defamation League closings were only 52% of the number of new cases. In New York, the comparable figures were 93% for the American Jewish Congress and 37% for the Anti-Defamation League Eastern Regional office. This shows a tendency for a higher proportion of cases to remain in the "pending" category as handled by ADL.

These statistical comparisons are, of course, not relevant in judging the effectiveness of the activity in promoting each agency's larger objectives.

An attempt was made also to compare procedures and effectiveness in handling a group of cases arising at Federation Employment Service which were divided evenly between the Anti-Defamation League and the Congress. Of the total of fifty complaints, however, so few complainants furnished full information, and of those so few were valid, that no meaningful comparison could be made. In so far as any judgment was possible, the approach and procedures appeared to be very nearly identical in the two agencies.

American Jewish Congress

The American Jewish Congress draws a distinction between routine situations and case situations which go beyond the routine handling as follows:

"The various aspects of the Commission's activity in com-

batting employment discrimination have different specific objectives and must be judged by different criteria. The routine handling of cases is for the purpose of bringing about changes in the practices of the employers complained against, and of serving complainants. Therefore, this must be evaluated on the basis of effectiveness, and the percentage of settlements is a test of efficiency.

"Inseparably linked with the routine handling of cases is the use of incoming cases as raw material for making precedents in the administration of existing fair employment practice laws or in pressing for legislative action. In these, the evaluation must be based upon the effectiveness in attaining these objectives. In an especially important group of cases, the objectives dealing with employment discrimination on a case work basis go far beyond the entire field of employment discrimination, such, for instance, as in the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company case in which the entire problem of Mary Dillon was involved, or the Lumberman's Mutual case in which the president of the concern is of interest to community relations agencies for other reasons. The program must be judged in terms of this complex set of objectives different ones of which are involved in a case by case judgment in different situations.

"Since Congress places considerable emphasis on the role of legal and legislative action, together with administrative intervention, in the field of combatting anti-Semitism, the significance of case work in providing raw material for these activities is particularly important to the organization.

"On the other hand, an agency's program must not be judged in terms of objectives which it does not profess. For instance, the Congress does not issue good-will literature, and is not therefore interested in studying cases for the purpose of obtaining material useful in the preparation of such literature. Its program therefore cannot be judged in terms of its effectiveness for this objective. We doubt, however, that case work provides much material for this kind of activity."

Anti-Defamation League

The view of the Anti-Defamation League was summarized as follows:

"The Anti-Defamation League conducts activities against employment discrimination as one aspect of its entire public relations program, with the underlying objective of improving relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish groups in the United States.

"The specific objective of the program is to reduce discrimination, and of case work to eliminate instances of discriminatory practices. While techniques of case work investigation are being continually revised and broadened, today the greatest emphasis is placed on getting employers to administer their personnel policies fairly *in the future*—rather than on discovering evidences of discrimination *in the past*. They have succeeded in getting employers to use films, literature, posters, and other educational material recommended by them. The program can be judged by these criteria, keeping in mind that at all times when the field worker calls, his underlying objective is to make a friend."

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds

Mr. Harry L. Lurie, Executive Director of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, suggests basing evaluation largely upon measures of the effectiveness of the activities against employment discrimination in altering employers' practices. The representatives of the American Jewish Committee were in close accord with this opinion. Mr. Lurie said:

"It is necessary to apply pragmatic criteria to activities combatting employment discrimination in order to judge whether an effective job is being done. It is necessary to obtain data showing the extent to which firms approached by pressure or by persuasion have changed their practices. The difficulties of conducting a statistical study do not rule it out. A test is the answer to this question: Was there an actual change in the employer's practices that can be traced to the anti-discrimination activity? This will require comparison with a group of employers known to engage in undesirable practices in order to determine whether the work of the agency or other factors were responsible for increases or decreases in discrimination."

Because of the complexity of the criteria, the vague nature

of some of them, uncertainty about instances in which broader objectives may be in conflict with immediate objectives, and the difficulty of applying any criteria to scattered cases occurring under various social conditions, statistical comparisons of operating effectiveness are to some extent ambiguous. Various suggestions for comparisons based upon extent of coverage or more superficial administrative criteria, such as staff, budget procedures, etc., cannot be regarded as conclusive.

Chicago Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems

Mr. Albert Weiss of the Chicago Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems illustrates these points in the summary of his agency's thinking on evaluation, as follows:

"As yet there are no satisfactory criteria for evaluating work in the field of employment discrimination. As far as case activity is concerned, evaluation must be based on a case-by-case analysis, for while certain objective achievements in one case may be considered as excellent, the self-same objective achievements in another case may add up to little more than flat failure. Eight years of attempts by the Bureau to measure case accomplishments statistically have not resulted in anywhere near a satisfactory system. Similarly, in the broader fields of community orientation and public relations, success or failure, difficult to assess at best, can only realistically or honestly be appraised in terms of the limited objectives of each specific project rather than against the basic standard of fair employment. Variables such as general business conditions, availability of Jewish applicants, the changing political and social climate of our country, the impact of international relations directly affect the day-to-day shifting fair employment scene and our appraisal of it. In addition to these overall factors are the more directly applicable difficulties of our inability to learn the actual incidence of employment discrimination, exactly what immediate effect our contact had on a particular employer (in many cases he would be unable to tell you himself), or frankly subjective evaluation of his overt actions and expressed attitudes, the infrequent opportunity to measure long-term results, and the complication of the effects of other factors in those cases

where we do get a chance to follow-up adequately.

"In 1941 the Bureau stated that its measuring stick, admittedly woefully inadequate, had three notches:

1. In every case we judge whether discrimination has partly given way to tolerance.
2. Where information is available we gather statistics of increased employment.
3. We check the progress made in establishing favorable influences throughout the community.

"Unfortunately, in the first instance, our judgment cannot be much better than a purely subjective one; in the second instance we get such information too infrequently; in the third instance, we are only occasionally able to reliably evaluate such influence. Forcing closed cases, for instance, into categories such as no discrimination shown, satisfactory adjustment, or unadjustable frequently squeezes cases into unrecognizable shapes.

"To these intangible appraisals, therefore, we add practical criteria of work accomplished. Frankly stated we believe that, using the *generally considered* best techniques, the more employers, unions, employment agencies, and government agencies we can approach the more effective job we are doing. Setting up generally considered important and effective community, publicity, political and research projects, the more we approximate the specific objectives of the special projects, the better chance we have of achieving fair employment."

An Optimum Program

ALTHOUGH the reporting agencies are all agreed that the problem of employment discrimination is important and requires attention, there is considerable difference of opinion as to its relative importance within the total community relations program.

The ADL, for example, points out that large sums of money could be expended without solving the problem and the American Jewish Committee suggests that the major attack should be aimed at achieving broader objectives, since employment discrimination is "only one of the specific consequences of prejudice."

On the other hand, the Cincinnati Jewish Community Council believes that "the problem of employment discrimination should have paramount attention," while the Detroit Council considers it "of special significance in the entire civic defense effort." The Chicago BJEP goes even further. It maintains that "an increase in the resources and personnel specifically devoted to employment discrimination activities is of first importance" and recommends "curtailing some of the long term efforts in favor of the immediately realizable gains in fair employment." The Bureau characterizes general appeals of the human relations type as "relatively sterile." Asserting that "Brotherhood has been preached and promoted widely, with little success," the Bureau comments that "Brotherhood is more likely to develop through working side by side" and that in this way "fair employment can itself achieve many of the goals towards which the total civic protective program aims."

There appears to be general agreement, however, that the relative importance of employment discrimination work needs to be reexamined constantly in the light of changing economic conditions. Current labor shortages are advanced as the basis for present inactivity by several agencies and others report plans to expand their programs as soon as unemployment looms large. This aspect of the problem is stated succinctly by the Minnesota Jewish Council which writes, "As is usually the

case, the community wakes up only when the shoe pinches, and in view of the fact that there does not seem to be a pinch at this time, I doubt that any of us could sell our Councils on appropriating any good-size share of the budget to this particular work."

Diverging Views

Many different elements are suggested for an optimum program with marked differences of opinion as to the relative importance of each.

Boston suggests that "we need desperately to give more guidance to our young people, to steer them into a diversity of occupations." Detroit recommends work with the USES, and Chicago urges that a series of national conferences and a system of periodic statistical reporting be initiated. The recommendation of the Jewish Occupational Council for "research on the incidence and nature of discrimination" is endorsed by the ADL and by several local agencies. Many suggestions are advanced for general as well as specific types of educational programs. The American Jewish Committee urges an educational program "designed to make discrimination generally unpopular," the Jewish Welfare Board calls for "constant education of the Jewish community, directed particularly against the danger of complacency" while the Minnesota Jewish Council ventures the opinion that "we have been derelict for too long a time in preparing an adequate program of education for employers." In this connection, the Minnesota Council suggests "it would be most helpful if some of the national agencies would map out a series of brochures suitable for mailing to personnel managers, say on a monthly basis."

Several responses emphasize that providing equality of opportunity is a community responsibility, and that Jewish agencies must "increasingly join forces with others in the community to deal effectively with this condition." This point of view is reflected in the opinion of the Bridgeport Jewish Community Council that if the problem were "handled on a community-wide basis, it might bring more satisfactory results." This latter suggestion is developed at some length by the

Jewish Community Council of Cleveland which feels that the creation of state and local councils on fair employment practices "might well become the concern of the national, as well as the local Jewish agencies."

FEP councils should have the "broadest possible membership base,—a paid professional staff—and financing either through the community chest or by contributions from all of the constituent groups." Such councils in the opinion of the Cleveland agency are "potentially much more effective than Jewish agencies."

Legislation

On one point, however, there is complete agreement, namely that efforts to secure the enactment and effective enforcement of fair employment practice legislation are of primary importance. Both in the reports received and among the individuals interviewed, this activity was emphasized as the cornerstone of an optimum program. The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds declares, "Effective activity against employment discrimination requires the extension of effective fair employment practice legislation—other activities are of minor value." One of the small unorganized communities puts it even more bluntly. "The basic and only answer is for all agencies, yours, the Congress and the B'nai B'rith to waste less time and money on all the non-essentials and to devote all energy, thought and means to establishing state and eventually a national FEPC law. In fact, is there anything else to advocate?"

Case Activity

None of the reporting agencies questions the value of case activity as such, and there appears to be complete concurrence with the statement of the Jewish Labor Committee that "every valid complaint should receive some response." There is, however, a wide divergence of opinion both as to the relative emphasis which this particular activity merits and as to the methods and auspices under which it should be conducted. The American Jewish Congress believes it "always worthwhile" to have part of the staff assigned to this function. It suggests that "the handling of routine cases is an important part of a

total program in terms of the use of cases for gathering of information, that is, for general diagnostic purposes." However, "Since Congress places considerable emphasis on the role of legal and legislative action, together with administrative intervention, in the field of combatting anti-Semitism, the significance of case work in providing raw material for these activities is particularly important. One big issue won justifies the entire program including all the routine case activity." The American Jewish Committee, on the other hand, suggests that "combatting employment discrimination by means of action on individual complaints is eminently worthwhile in the sense that no truly effective effort to expand employment opportunities for Jews and assist individuals is considered wasted." At the same time it cautions that "in view of the existing limitations of funds and resources for community relations work, and the costliness of the case-work approach, the employment of full-time personnel by the Jewish agencies appears to be justified only in New York City and perhaps a very few other large centers."

These same differences are reflected in the responses from the communities. Chicago, like the Congress, emphasizes the values accruing from case activity "in providing a body of information not otherwise obtainable and in increasing employment opportunities for Jewish workers" and Detroit believes it to be valuable "not only because of the immediate good to be achieved from a contact but because cumulatively it may contribute significantly to the improvement of a community pattern." While granting that case activity may sometimes assist the individual, the report from Cleveland expresses doubt that it will "significantly affect the thinking and attitudes of any considerable part of the community." "The perfect case history of a complaint with permanent desirable adjustments" it states, "is a museum piece."

Stimulation of Cases

It is obvious from the reports received that the combined number of complaints handled by all the Jewish agencies represents but a small fraction of the actual incidents of discrim-

ination. There is, however, a basic difference among the agencies as to whether any effort should be made to stimulate additional complaints. The ADL questions the advisability of such activity "in part because the proportion of valid cases would unquestionably be very low, and in part because of the danger of rendering the Jewish community over-sensitive in suspecting discrimination." These same questions are raised by the American Jewish Committee. The American Jewish Congress, on the other hand, offers the following opinion: "The Congress feels that activity in this field could be very greatly expanded by bringing to the attention of such groups as trade unions, organized Jewish bodies, communal groups, etc., the facilities and services which exist.

"Furthermore it must be remembered that discrimination cannot be fought effectively if the area of struggle is limited to cases in which the person discriminated against has been willing and able to bring his case to the attention of one or another agency. The great mass of people who suffer discrimination lack the energy and the time to approach any agency. We must approach them and evolve an aggressive policy of uncovering the key spots and the strategic area of economic discrimination. Complaints are the symptoms on the basis of which a complete diagnosis can be reached and a therapy evolved."

In a similar vein, the National Jewish Welfare Board stresses the desirability of utilizing Jewish Community Centers to bring home the importance of the problem, and the facilities which exist for dealing with it. Chicago reports plans for widespread publicity to "stimulate increased reporting of incidents to the Bureau." It points out, however, that work on individual complaints is limited in that the "random sequence of complaints tends to impose a pattern on the total field-visiting program that may not necessarily be the most useful" and therefore recommends a stepped-up case-work and field visiting program that will take its orientation from broad occupational needs of Jewish workers rather than be directed by the random sequence of complaints. The Cleveland Jewish Community Council, however, questions whether such self-initiated field visiting

programs fall properly within the sphere of community relations agencies and suggests that "more value may derive from this being done by Jewish vocational agencies in a straight employer contact basis." This latter opinion appears to be shared by the Jewish Occupational Council.

Case Approach

In keeping with the thesis that employment discrimination constitutes a community problem and should therefore be combatted by the community at large, several agencies question the advisability of case handling under Jewish auspices. The American Jewish Committee writes, "The approach for complaints in general should be for agencies of a non-sectarian nature, such as the various citizens' councils, to be responsible for conferring with employers; governmental agencies are better yet where they exist. Jewish agencies should have definite responsibilities for preliminary screening and otherwise assisting the non-sectarian agencies. The procedure is not for a Jewish group to wrangle with the employer in the name of Jewish rights, but for a citizens' group to speak in the name of American rights." The Jewish Labor Committee believes that "Jewish agencies should build their programs about the referral of valid cases to appropriate governmental agencies" and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds considers it "of doubtful advisability to attempt to follow-up complaints which the State Commission Against Discrimination does not prosecute." The Jewish Community Relations Committee in Newark, which operates in a state with an official FEPC, believes that "the major responsibility should rest with that organization," and that the responsibility of the Jewish agency should be "to publicize knowledge of the law among all the people so that adequate use shall be made of the existing facilities."

Regardless of under what auspices case activity is to be conducted, there is agreement among all the national agencies that the initial approach should be on an educational non-militant basis. The Jewish Labor Committee suggests that "public exposure may be resorted to as a last resort in aggravated situa-

tions," an opinion in which the American Jewish Congress concurs. On the other hand, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds observes that "The application of pressure to an employer with no sanctions other than which can be applied by the Jewish community itself probably has a limited effect" and notes that some industries may "actually profit from publicity concerning their discriminatory practices." Similar expressions regarding the use of pressure are advanced by the communities. The Jewish Community Council of Boston disapproves of any program that "smacks of accusations, vituperation, and banging on the table," and the Jewish Community Council of Detroit believes "the coercive device of community pressures to be useful only in those instances where the employer has economic reasons for being sensitive to Jewish community feeling." At the same time, the Detroit agency adds the following observation: "The fact that a case is presented by the Jewish Community Council is in itself implied pressure. The strategic position of being a community-wide organization representing 229 affiliated groups, is of considerable significance in transactions with employers."

In his recommendations for an optimum program, Mr. Eli Cohen of the Jewish Occupational Council states, "In the major phase of the work, involving the public relations aspects, the more agencies active the more effective the program is likely to be. The same thing is not true of case handling; only one agency in a community should have responsibility for handling cases." This general thesis finds expression in one form or another in almost all the reports received and there is virtual unanimity among the agencies that in an optimum program the work should be so organized as to insure that no employer be approached by more than one agency.

Summary of Findings

1. *The role of anti-discrimination work*

A. As individuals and as a group, the Jews have shared in the general prosperity of the United States.

B. Discrimination in hiring and in advancement for certain types of jobs, have been present at all times as a disturbance in the work-life of individual Jewish earners. The depression and the war have demonstrated that discrimination may become a more imminent menace to the well-being of the entire Jewish community when intensified by downward shifts in the economic cycle and by increases in tension among groups.

C. In order to preserve their economic well-being as a group and to assist individuals encountering problems, American Jews have sponsored agencies to combat this double threat. It has generally been regarded as a function of the local community welfare structure to assist with problems of occupational choice and job-seeking, and of the local and national community relations agencies to minimize and attempt to eliminate discrimination in employment, in each case as an integrated part of a larger responsibility.

2. *Current activities to combat employment discrimination*

A. Community relations agencies have conducted the following types of activities specifically to oppose employment discrimination:

(1) Attempting to eliminate discriminatory practices of individual employers and employment agencies by means of interviews and negotiation, either in response to a complaint or as a self-initiated activity;

(2) Obtaining agreements from newspapers to eliminate discriminatory "Help Wanted" advertising;

(3) Stimulating interest in the passage of adequate federal, state, and local fair employment practices acts, and in the effi-

cient administration of such provisions once they have been enacted;

(4) Mobilizing community support for equal job opportunity, and forming community-wide citizens' groups for fair employment practices; and

(5) Research on the problems of employment discrimination.

B. While all the major national agencies in the community relations field are concerned with the problem of employment discrimination, only the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League conduct programs in the first area above, i.e., programs of case-activity.

C. The local community agencies affiliated with the NCRAC usually assume responsibility for the entire program, but in some cases they have carried on no case activity, and in others responsibility for these operations has been assigned to the JVS agency or local branch of the Congress.

D. The cities which do not have organized local community relations agencies, are, in general, those with smaller Jewish populations. Chicago, the major exception, has an independent agency specifically for the purpose of combatting employment discrimination.

E. Without exception, other unorganized communities furnishing information had no program in this area under local auspices. In almost all of these communities, complaints are referred to the local B'nai B'rith.

F. According to the information supplied the NCRAC, the two national agencies alone are responsible for three-fourths of the case activity throughout the country. The Chicago BJEP, whose volume of activity in a single community approaches that of the national agencies, accounts for almost all the remaining cases. The B'nai B'rith activity shows greater geographical coverage; the American Jewish Congress shows a higher volume of activity in 1946, the only year for which comparable statistics are available. The total of about a thousand

new cases throughout the nation in the period studied appears to be far below potential volume, as suggested by the recent NCRAC survey "Postwar Employment Discrimination Against Jews."

3. *Some approaches to the question of evaluation*

A. Assuming the validity of the objectives, each agency's operations can be judged by effectiveness in attaining its own objectives. National and local agencies were agreed upon these immediate objectives of case activity: (1) eliminating discriminatory practices in the cases handled, and (2) minimizing the incidence of discriminatory practices. Each national agency also stated broader objectives for this specific program in terms of implementing its general organizational aims.

B. With regard to the immediate objectives, the American Jewish Congress claimed 48% of its cases closed in the period surveyed as "satisfactorily adjusted," as compared with 35% claimed by the Anti-Defamation League. The New York office of the American Jewish Congress claimed 57% as compared with 37% for the Eastern Regional office of the Anti-Defamation League. Other statistical differences are apparent.

C. Because of the complexity of the criteria, the vague nature of some of them, uncertainty about instances in which broader objectives may be in conflict with immediate objectives, and the difficulty of applying any criteria to scattered cases occurring under various social conditions, statistical comparisons of operating effectiveness are to some extent ambiguous. Various suggestions for comparisons based upon extent of coverage or more superficial administrative criteria, such as staff, budget, procedures, etc., cannot be regarded as conclusive.

4. *Comments on an optimum practical program*

A. All the agencies and individuals consulted agreed upon the importance of legislation in dealing with discrimination. The passage and subsequent proper administration of Fair Employment Practices laws, federal, state, and municipal, are mentioned in all comments on an optimum practical program.

B. There are differences of opinion on the proper degree of emphasis upon case-work activity. Although no one questions its value as such, some believe that funds and energy should not be diverted from other parts of the community relations program for this type of work, and others that all case activity should be the responsibility of governmental agencies or of non-sectarian groups. There is complete agreement, however, that there is need for an agency responsible for case-work activity against employment discrimination.

C. It is generally agreed that ideally only one agency in each community should be responsible for this activity.

Conclusions and Recommendations⁶

ON THE ROLE OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION WORK

The manifestations and areas of discrimination vary with local conditions and with fluctuations in the economic cycle. Discrimination, however, is not confined to periods of unemployment, nor do complaints alone represent a full or reliable measure either of the extent or the seriousness of the problem. To determine the need for programs against employment discrimination by these criteria, therefore, is to view the problem far too narrowly, which all too often results in an acceptance of occupational self-ghettoization.

1. *We consider the problem of employment discrimination as a challenge to American Jewish communities at all times, not as an interim activity to be undertaken only during periods of unemployment or increased incidence of complaints.*
2. *We envisage the objective of employment discrimination work as that of affording all individuals an equal opportunity to be hired and to advance in occupations of their own choice to the full measure of their ability.*
3. *The achievement of this objective represents a task for every Jewish community—a task which has not as yet received adequate attention.*

ON ACTIVITIES

The five phases of work outlined in the section on current activities are all required for a balanced total program, although each component need not be present in the program of every agency. In our opinion, however, these activities are not now being pursued sufficiently to meet the needs.

4. *We regard as necessary for a balanced program all five general types of activity which we have found to be*
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6. As approved by the Plenary Session, March, 1947.

carried on currently, namely: (a) elimination of discriminatory employment practices; (b) elimination of discriminatory advertising; (c) legislation; (d) community action; (e) research.

5. *We recommend expanded programs in all of the above areas. A technique which merits greater exploration is that of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements as a means of mobilizing labor and management into concrete action against employment discrimination.*

We do not believe that legislation per se can solve the problem of employment discrimination, nor do we suggest that laws ever of themselves completely eliminate the evil they are designed to correct. They do, however, establish criteria by which actions may be judged. We believe that FEPC legislation, by indicating that discrimination is inimical to the public welfare and contrary to public policy, and by establishing machinery for dealing with violations, constitutes a setting within which a final solution may be sought.

6. *We believe the enactment of fair employment legislation and the effective administration of such statutes once enacted, to be the first component of a balanced program.*

The reports received reflect wide differences of opinion as to the relative importance of casework, because of the small number of cases "satisfactorily adjusted," and because basic attitudes are not likely to be changed by the case approach. Nevertheless, we believe casework to be essential to a balanced program. Cases constitute an invaluable source of information upon which to evaluate changing trends, plan future activities and establish legal precedents. Moreover, no matter how small the proportion of satisfactory adjustments, we consider it important for the morale of the Jewish community that every program include adequate facilities for following up complaints.

7. *We recommend that every major center of Jewish population maintain an active casework program and that*

facilities for case handling be made available to communities with insufficient Jewish population to support a local program.

The survey "Postwar Employment Discrimination Against Jews" contains the following statement: "Unless the community has been made fully aware of an existing channel for filing complains, one cannot attest even to the existence or non-existence of discrimination." The reports received in the present study suggest that most agencies have been lax in making known their facilities and interest in handling complaints. We recognize that a large proportion of those experiencing discrimination will under no circumstances file complaints, but we believe that current case statistics fall far short of the realizable potential. •

8. *We advocate a comprehensive program of interpretation of both the problem and the available services.*

The transition from negative to positive programming reflected in the change from the term "civic protective" to that of "community relations" needs be applied to casework. This would involve extensive employer field visiting programs without reference to individual complaints, and should include work with employment agencies, and school and college placement bureaus.

9. *We recommend expanded programs of self-initiated activity, planned jointly with the JVS agency wherever possible, and aimed at creating job opportunities for Jews in occupations and industries which traditionally have been closed to them.*

ON STRUCTURE

Several of the respondents drew a distinction between the research and public relations aspects of a program against employment discrimination and casework activities. We consider this a valid distinction. The work of all Jewish economic adjustment agencies has been handicapped by a lack of factual data concerning the changing patterns of Jewish occupational

distribution and the extent and areas of employment discrimination. The need for research of this character is so great as to afford an opportunity for constructive and unduplicated activity by a great many organizations. Similarly, the participation of several agencies in public relations activities, including legislation, enhances the likelihood of effective and successful programs.

10. *Assuming coordination and clearance, we recommend that all interested agencies and organizations participate in legislation, community action and research.*

Conversely, where more than one agency in a given locality is engaged in casework activities, there is likely to be competition resulting in confusion among both complainants and referral agencies. Furthermore, such a division represents a risk of duplicating or even conflicting approaches to employers, employment agencies, newspapers and government officials.

11. *In the belief that case work activities suffer by divided responsibility, we recommend for work in these areas a single agency in each community. The decision as to whether the responsible agency should be a community council, a JVS, a branch of a national agency, or an independent bureau must be determined by each community in the light of local conditions.*

Non-sectarian, community-wide citizens groups represent an invaluable instrument for mobilizing community opinion for fair employment practices and we urge even greater participation and support from Jewish communities than has hitherto been made available. In our opinion, however, such groups are supplementary to rather than substitutes for independent Jewish efforts.

12. *Even where an effective community-wide citizens group or an official governmental body has been established to deal with cases of employment discrimination, we recommend that preliminary screening and investigation be continued under Jewish auspices.*

ON EVALUATION

The subcommittee considers evaluation of program and operations to be of crucial importance. In our judgment, however, statistics of changed employer practices alone tend to be inadequate, incomplete, impractical and not truly objective.

13. *We recommend further development in the vital area of evaluation, based upon the principles embodied in this study.*

ON PROCEDURES

14. *We recommend that the NCRAC Committee on Employment Discrimination develop a manual of procedures and initiate a system of periodic uniform reports of activity from Jewish agencies engaged in work against employment discrimination.*

APPENDIX

Tables

Table I
VOLUME OF CASE ACTIVITY

AGENCY	1945		1946	
	New	Closed	Jan. 1-June 30 New	Closed
<i>National Agencies</i>				
American Jewish Congress ^c	132 ^a	87 ^a	237 ^b	229 ^b
New York	74 ^a	64 ^a	109	106
Philadelphia	35 ^a	13 ^a	97	65
Boston	23 ^a	10 ^a	31 ^b	58 ^b
ADL ^c	251	115 ^e	171	62 ^e
Eastern Regional Office	111	57	113	25
New England (Boston)	7	6	4	4
National Office (Chicago)	37	27	22	14
Florida	16	15	12	11
Washington, D.C.	1	1	1	0
Southeastern (Atlanta)	1	0	1	2
San Francisco Bay	7	6	3	2
Oregon Regional Office	4	3	2	2
Greater Kansas City ^d	0	0	2	2
Columbus, O. Regional Office	35	NR	1	NR
Milwaukee Regional Office	3	NR	4	NR
Washington State	8	NR	1	NR
Southern California	21	NR	5	NR
<i>Local Community Agencies</i>	68	20	153	130
Chicago BJEP	37	NR	131	112
Cincinnati JVS	8	5	6	6
Detroit JC	9	8	12	7
Milwaukee JVS	3	1	3	4
Newark JCRC	6	6	1	1
Pittsburgh JCRC	5	NR	NR	NR

Notes: NR—not available.

^a Figures for Oct. 1-Dec. 31 only in 1945.

^b Boston figures from Jan. 1 to May 31 only in 1946.

^c Figures include an undetermined proportion of cases of social discrimination other than in employment, e.g. by resorts.

^d Same office as Jewish Community Council of Kansas City, which is not reported separately.

^e Cases closed figures not available for Columbus, Milwaukee, Washington State or Southern California Regional Office.

Table II
CASES REPORTED AS SATISFACTORILY ADJUSTED

AGENCY	Total Number of Cases Reported Closed	Number of these Reported "satisfactorily adjusted"	Percentage Reported "satisfactorily adjusted"
<i>National Agencies</i>			
American Jewish Congress .	316	152	48%
New York	170	97	57%
Philadelphia . . .	78	46	59%
Boston	68	9	13%
ADL	177	61	35%
Eastern Regional Office.	82	30	37%
All others	95	31	33%
<i>Local Community Agencies</i> .	150	98	65%
Chicago BJEP . . .	112	75	67%
All others	38	23	61%

Table III
CASES INITIATED BY COMPLAINT

AGENCY	Total New Cases Reported	New Cases Initiated by Complaint	Percentage Initiated by Complaint
<i>National Agencies</i>			
American Jewish Congress .	369	273	74%
New York	183	102	56%
Philadelphia . . .	132	130	99%
Boston	54	41	76%
ADL ^a	340	305	90%
Eastern Regional Office .	224	208	93%
All others ^a	116	97	83%
<i>Local Community Agencies</i> .	221	169	76%
Chicago BJEP . . .	168	123	73%
All others	53	46	89%

^a Includes only offices with complete statistics.

Table IV
RELATIONSHIP OF CASES CLOSED TO NEW CASES

AGENCY	<i>Total New Cases Reported</i>	<i>Total Number of Cases Reported Closed</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
<i>National Agencies</i>			
American Jewish Congress .	369	316	.86
New York	183	170	.93
Philadelphia . . .	132	78	.59
Boston	54	68	1.26
ADL ^a	340	177	.52
Eastern Regional Office .	224	82	.37
All others ^a	116	95	.82
<i>Local Community Agencies</i> .	221	150	.68
Chicago BJEP	168	112	.67
All others	53	38	.74

^a Includes only offices with complete statistics.

Questionnaire

June 26, 1946

To: Directors of Jewish Federations and Community Councils

The Committee on Employment Discrimination of the NCRAC is at present engaged in a survey of the work done in this field by the national civic-protective agencies. Your views and information about work done in your community by local, state-wide or regional Jewish agencies, will be most valuable in supplementing the information from the national agencies. We should appreciate a reply by July 15, 1946. Please supply us with any material which you believe would be helpful for this purpose, in addition to answering the relevant questions among the following:

1. If there is a program for combatting employment discrimination against Jews in your community, please name the agency in which responsibility for that program is vested.
2. If your agency conducts such activities, please supply specific information on the following:
 - a. The objectives of the program.
 - b. Organization and personnel, whether professional or volunteer, full or part-time, type of background, etc.
 - c. Budget or estimated annual expenditure for this program.
 - d. Procedures and methods of operation.
3. Does the American Jewish Congress or the B'nai B'rith engage in anti-discrimination work in your community? If so, what is the relationship with the local community program?
4. Please supply the specific information requested on the attached form* about your agency's volume of activity on complaints.
5. List and describe your agency's major projects not involving complaints, such as with newspapers, public and private employment agencies, cooperation with community and public agencies, interest in legislation, field-visiting programs by individual firms or by industry, etc.
6. What criteria do you apply in evaluating your agency's work? In terms of these criteria, what is your own evaluation of your agency's work?
7. What future plans do you have for combatting employment discrimination? Please give specific information.
8. Please write your views on the importance of combatting employment discrimination, the place of such work within a total civic-protective program, and the relative value of various approaches, including specifically an evaluation of work on individual complaints of discrimination. What would you advocate as the best practical program for the entire American Jewish community in combatting employment discrimination? For your own community?

*See succeeding pages.

STATISTICS OF OPERATION*

Reporting Agency..... Date.....
 Community or Area.....

I. REPORT ON CASE ACTIVITY

	1 9 4 5					1 9 4 6		
	1st Quarter	2nd	3rd	4th	Total	1st Quarter	2nd	Total
Cases current at end of period								
New cases docketed								
Cases closed								

*If possible, also supply annual totals for the same items from
the inception of the service through 1944.*

II. ANALYSIS OF NEW CASES BY SOURCE

TOTAL 1945	Total	Business	Employment Agency	Union	Government
Self-Initiated					
Initiated by Complaint					
TOTAL 1946, first-half					
Self-Initiated					
Initiated by Complaint					

III. DISPOSITION OF CASES

	Total 1945	Total 1946, First-half
a. No jurisdiction		
b. Insufficient evidence		
c. No discrimination shown		
d. Satisfactory adjustment		
e. Unadjustable		
f. Other		

*Form enclosed with questionnaire reproduced on preceding page.

DEFINITIONS: STATISTICS OF OPERATION

CASE:

- a. A complaint, whether oral or written, filed either by, or on behalf of a specific person aggrieved or on behalf of Jews generally, charging a named employer, governmental agency, employment agency, labor organization, educational institution, newspaper, or other party with discriminatory policies or practices against Jews;
- b. An investigation of the policies or practices of a specific party to determine whether it discriminates or aids in discrimination against Jews, initiated in the absence of a complaint as defined above. Such investigation may be based upon specific information or general report or as a part of a research project.

DISPOSITION OF CASES:

- a. *No Jurisdiction.* The complaint does not allege a matter within agency's jurisdiction,—e.g. complainant alleges he was discriminated against because of office politics.
- b. *Insufficient Evidence.* Complaint so inadequate it was not brought to attention of party charged. Complaints from obviously psychotic persons or others which are worthless on their face or those in which a prima facie case cannot be established.
- c. *No Discrimination Shown.* Agency had contact with the party charged, advised it of the complaint, received its version of the facts and decided that discrimination could not be established.
- d. *Satisfactory Adjustment.* Evidence received that the party charged has changed its discriminatory policies, e.g., by hiring Jews, by revising an application form, or by ceasing to print or publish discriminatory advertisements.
- e. *Unadjustable.* Where discrimination is apparent, whether or not admitted by the party charged, and all efforts to adjust the case have failed.
- f. *Other.* For closings which do not fit any of the above headings, e.g., where party charged goes out of business during investigation, complainant asks that complaint be withdrawn, etc.

Summaries of Interviews

American Jewish Committee

*Approved summary of interview with Mr. Alfred E. Bernheim and
Dr. S. Andbil Fineberg of the American Jewish Committee,
August 1, 1946.*

1. AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE PROGRAM IN THIS AREA

The American Jewish Committee has no personnel assigned specifically to follow up complaints of employment discrimination, and its usual procedure is to refer to other agencies case situations called to its attention. In special instances, the Community Service Department may confer with an employer or ask a specialist of the American Jewish Committee, such as Mr. Dave Sigman working in the field of labor, to handle it; in these instances there is no procedure for routine clearance with other agencies. The decision on whether to handle a particular complaint or to refer it (and if to refer the complaint, whether to a Jewish agency or a non-sectarian one such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews or to an individual), is made on a case-by-case judgment of whose contacts would be most effective in the situation. The fact that other Jewish agencies have extensive programs is one determinant, although not necessarily a major one, in the Committee's decision not to establish specific services, although this area has been a subject of American Jewish Committee attention since 1906.

The Committee has shown its interest by financing various organizations directly active in promoting fair employment practices, such as the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, the N. Y. Metropolitan Council on FEPC, the Chicago Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems, and others.

The AJC has always been concerned with the problem of anti-Semitism in the area of business and industry, and on the part of businessmen and industrialists, and has on a number of occasions taken action in relation thereto. For some time it has been planning to put this work on a continuing basis, with a comprehensive program directed by a full-time staff member, paralleling, in a general way, its special programs with labor, veterans, etc. These plans have now matured to the point of initiation of the program.

The aim of the Committee's program, very briefly expressed, is to awaken the business world to the danger *to itself* and to the nation arising from disunity, group tensions, prejudice and discrimination, and to line it up in the fight against "fascist" tendencies. Obviously, the problem of employment discrimination in its broader aspects will be involved in this program.

2. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

It was suggested that evaluation be based, as much as possible, upon concrete, objective observations. One device might be a follow-up study on the effectiveness of service on complaints, matched groups of complaints to be divided arbitrarily between the two organizations with specific programs, and a committee of technical experts to guide the study. Quantity and skill of staff assigned to the work are also factors in judging.

3. AN OPTIMUM PRACTICAL PROGRAM

Combatting employment discrimination specifically, and particularly doing so by means of action on individual complaints, are eminently worthwhile in the sense that the problems are important, and no truly effective effort to expand employment opportunities for Jews and assist individuals is considered wasted. Employment discrimination, however, is only one of the specific consequences of prejudice. The major attack must be the educational one, designed to make discrimination generally unpopular. In view of the existing limitation of funds and resources for community relations work, and the costliness of the case-work approach, the employment of full-time personnel by the Jewish agencies appears to be justified only in New York City and perhaps a very few other large centers.

The approach for complaints in general should be for agencies of a non-sectarian nature, such as the various citizen's councils, to be responsible for conferring with employers; governmental agencies are better yet, where they exist. Jewish agencies should have definite responsibilities for preliminary screening and otherwise assisting the non-sectarian agencies. The procedure is not for a Jewish group to wrangle with the employer in the name of Jewish rights, but for a citizens' group to speak in the name of American rights.

Probably less than ten per cent of instances of discrimination are actually reported to Jewish agencies. To campaign for the reporting of such cases to agencies is inadvisable. There is grave danger of oversensitizing the Jews to discrimination, fostering the dangerous error that anti-Semitism is involved whenever a job or advancement is not obtained by a Jew.

It can be asserted as a principle that only one approach should be made to a single employer.

The ultimate solution in regard to methods of handling cases requires a continuing study of performance guided by clearly stated objectives.

American Jewish Congress

Approved summary of interview with Dr. David Petegorsky, Executive Director, American Jewish Congress, and Mr. Will Maslow, Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, August 21, 1946.

1. ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION IN COMBATTING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

A general account of the program with a summary of statistics has already been supplied to the NCRAC in writing.

On a purely case level, the simplest activities are those which involve reports of application blanks which ask questions related to religion. In such instances, a visit may be made to the employer. Frequently, only a letter is sent. If, however, the employer shows resistance, the files will be checked for relevant information and a test of the employer's practices may be arranged. Other cases result from complaints of refusal to hire. In such cases when it is established that the complaint has foundation, an interview is always held with the hiring officer, since it is believed that the complainant and the American Jewish community deserve that service. If the employer is resistant, the ordinary procedure is to refer to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

Some case situations go beyond the routine handling, depending upon the strategic nature of the industry, size of the employer, known pattern of discrimination of the individual employer, and so forth. Concentration at present is on key industries, principally banks, public utilities, air lines, and department stores. Case examples were cited and discussed, such as the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company, Columbia University Employment Office, Lumberman's Mutual Insurance Company, the Gertz case, and so forth.

2. OBJECTIVES AND CRITERIA OF EFFECTIVENESS

The various aspects of the Commission's activity in combatting employment discrimination have different specific objectives and must be judged by different criteria. The routine handling of cases is for the purpose of bringing about changes in the practices of the employers complained against, and of serving complainants. Therefore, this must be evaluated on the basis of effectiveness, and the percentage of settlements is a test of efficiency.

Inseparably linked with the routine handling of cases is the use of incoming cases as raw material for making precedents in the administration of existing fair employment practices laws or in pressing for legislative action. In these the evaluation must be based upon the effective-

ness in attaining these objectives. In an especially important group of cases, the objectives dealing with employment discrimination on a case work basis go far beyond the entire field of employment discrimination, such, for instance, as in the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company case in which the entire problem of Mary Dillon was involved, or the Lumberman's Mutual case in which the President of the concern is of interest to community relations agencies for other reasons. The program must be judged in terms of this complex set of objectives, different ones of which are involved in a case by case judgment in different situations.

Since Congress places considerable emphasis on the role of legal and legislative action, together with administrative intervention, in the field of combatting anti-Semitism, the significance of case work in providing raw material for these activities is particularly important to the organization.

On the other hand, an agency's program must not be judged in terms of objectives which it does not profess. For instance, the Congress does not issue good-will literature, and is not therefore interested in studying cases for the purpose of obtaining material useful in the preparation of such literature. Its program therefore cannot be judged in terms of its effectiveness for this objective. We doubt, however, that case work provides much material for this kind of activity. Whatever, however, might emerge from this material, could easily be made available to any group or agencies who would be interested in making use of it for other purposes.

3. EVALUATION OF THE CONGRESS PROGRAM IN TERMS OF ITS OBJECTIVES

In evaluating the program of the Congress in terms of its own objectives, it must be recognized that activities to date barely scratch the surface of the problem. In comparison with the total problem, few complaints are received, fewer of these are valid, many are merely routine, and not all of these are satisfactorily adjusted. Nevertheless, the Congress believes it always worthwhile to have part of the staff assigned to the routine activities. The handling of routine cases is an important part of a total program in terms of the use of cases for gathering of information, that is, for general diagnostic purposes, and also for obtaining raw material for test cases and so on. If routine cases are not handled so that the complainants get satisfaction, people will stop bringing complaints to the attention of the Congress and it will be more difficult to initiate activity in major cases. One big issue won justifies the entire program, including all the routine case activity. It would, however, be impractical to attempt to divide the routine handling as a separate function from the other activities.

In terms of objective criteria of performance, the Commission's work compares most favorably with public bodies, showing a higher volume

of activity per staff member and a higher percentage of cases satisfactorily adjusted. It is necessary to select only a limited number of cases occurring in strategic industries or otherwise of major interest for intensive activity primarily because of limitation of staff. The Congress feels that activity in this field could be very greatly expanded by bringing to the attention of such groups as trade unions, organized Jewish bodies, communal groups, etc., the facilities and services which exist. It has no doubt that such a campaign would very greatly increase the number of complaints and cases which would be brought to its attention.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Summary of interview with Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein, Assistant National Director, Mr. Frank Trager, National Program Director, and Mr. Marvin M. Jager, Director, Department on Social and Economic Discrimination of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; September 10, 1946.

1. ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE PROGRAM IN THIS AREA—OBJECTIVES, CRITERIA, ACTIVITIES

Detailed information and statistics of operation have already been supplied to the NCRAC.

The ADL conducts activities against employment discrimination as one aspect of its entire public relations program, with the underlying objective of improving relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish groups in the United States. The specific objective of the program is to reduce discrimination, and of case-work to eliminate instances of discriminatory practices. While techniques of case-work investigations are being continually revised and broadened, today the greatest emphasis is placed on getting employers to administer their personnel policies fairly *in the future*—rather than on discovering evidence of discrimination *in the past*. They have succeeded in getting employers to use films, literature, posters and other educational material recommended by them. The program can be judged by these criteria, keeping in mind that at all times when the field worker calls, his underlying objective is to make a friend.

The activities are, in the broadest sense, carried on by the entire staff of the ADL: specifically, they are the concern of the Department on Social and Economic Discrimination, which is responsible to the Civic Service Department. The educational and public relations program of the ADL is designed to expose the evils of discrimination and to propagandize against it.

In the New York Area, there are a director, an assistant director, two field workers or case-workers, a statistician and clerical staff on a full

time basis, and at least a half-dozen people, including an investigator, available for part-time assignments. In addition, the preparation of educational materials for employers and certain types of activity in connection with legislation are performed by appropriate other departments.

Twenty-five professionals among those employed in the fifteen ADL regional offices are responsible for carrying out the national program of combatting economic and social discrimination within their respective areas. Clearance on cases is maintained between these offices and the national headquarters with referral to the appropriate unit best equipped to handle the particular complaint. In addition there is very extensive volunteer activity, both in the form of assistance to professional personnel in the larger cities and as trained representation in the smaller centers where no professionals are immediately available.

The program is concerned almost entirely with complaints initiated by persons who believe themselves to have been discriminated against, and the volume of such activity is sufficient to occupy the staff fully. It is natural that this should be so, because of the ADL's base in a mass membership organization, the B'nai B'rith. On principle also, however, it is believed inadvisable to conduct an extensive program to stimulate reports of discrimination, in part because the proportion of valid cases would unquestionably be very low, and in part because of the danger of rendering the Jewish community over-sensitive in suspecting discrimination. Past self-initiated activities with employers have not been altogether satisfactory; in fact, there have been instances in which more ill-will was created than good.

The ADL has cooperated with the Federation Employment Service, however, in order to obtain more information concerning the incidence of discrimination, since spontaneously offered complaints alone do not constitute an adequate index. Such a program with JVS-type agencies has the virtue of acquainting job-seekers with anti-discrimination services, but it must be conducted carefully in order to avoid over-sensitizing Jewish job-seekers to discrimination.

2. AN OPTIMUM PRACTICAL PROGRAM

It would be possible to expend very large sums of money on programs of this type. We must rely upon experience and judgment to determine the proper balance between activities against employment discrimination and other aspects of the community relations program. This requires continuous reexamination, and will be a subject of discussion at a forthcoming staff meeting of the ADL. The educational approach, as, for instance, exemplified by the proposed educational program of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, is highly promising. What aspects of a total public relations program to emphasize, and particularly what emphasis to place on problems of em-

ployment discrimination, depends in part on current economic conditions. More information concerning the occupational distribution and the actual employment problems of Jews would be of great value in determining what would constitute an optimum practical program.

Theoretically, it would be ideal if only one agency were responsible for case work in a given area; but many practical factors affect this judgment.

Where more than one agency is engaged in case activity an optimum practical program requires an adequate system of clearance.

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds

Approved summary of interview with Mr. Harry L. Lurie, Executive Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, August 16, 1946.

1. PROGRAM IN THIS AREA OF

- (a) Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.
- (b) Local constituents of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds as a national community service agency does not engage in any specific program of services related to the problems of employment discrimination. It does advise its member federations, welfare funds and community councils, some of whom conduct or finance such activities through public relations committees or in other ways, but limits its advisory services to aspects of organization and structure of community services. The NCRAC which has been questioning these local agencies directly would have more information on the specific methods, procedures and activities in this area than the CJFWF. Mr. Lurie's impression coincides with the information obtained by the NCRAC to date, namely, that there is very little locally organized systematic activity to combat employment discrimination. The most frequent type of local interest is in legislation and in general measures to promote better group relationships.

2. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

It is necessary to apply the pragmatic criterion to activities combatting employment discrimination in order to judge whether an effective job is being done. It is necessary to obtain data showing the extent to which firms approached by pressure or by persuasion have changed their prac-

tices. The difficulties of conducting a statistical study do not rule it out. A test is the answer to this question: Was there an actual change in the employer's practices that can be traced to the anti-discrimination activity? This will require comparison with a group of employers known to engage in undesirable practices in order to determine whether the work of the agency or other factors were responsible for increases or decreases in discrimination.

3. AN OPTIMUM PRACTICAL PROGRAM

In Mr. Lurie's opinion, effective activity against employment discrimination requires the extension of effective fair employment practices legislation. Therefore, the passage of suitable state laws, particularly in the states where the problem is more acute, must be the first point in an optimum practical program. Other activities in bringing the problems to the attention of the non-Jewish community and in dealing with employers in order to minimize or do away with discriminatory employment practices are worthwhile but probably are of minor value. The application of pressure to an employer with no sanctions other than those which can be applied by the Jewish community itself probably has a limited effect although judgment must be made on a case by case basis. Some industries are more susceptible to pressure than others; some actually profit from publicity concerning their discriminatory practices. The approach to the individual employer should be undertaken only when it is judged that the individual violator can be affected by public opinion, and requires (a) mobilized public opinion against discriminatory practices or (b) legal sanctions. The next step for the Jewish agencies, national and local, to take, is an effective functional analysis of the activities involved in combatting employment discrimination: for instance, legislative work, influencing employers, mobilizing public opinion, and so forth. After an effective functional analysis has been made, it should be possible to divide the tasks among agencies interested in the field according to some clear delineation of normal function. The JVS agencies would probably be found to have an effective role to play in connection with employer contacts, were such a functional analysis to be made. Ideally, there should be only one agency having responsibility for each of the functional components of the work.

Jewish Labor Committee

*Approved summary of interview with Mr. Irving Salert, Field Director,
Jewish Labor Committee, July 31, 1946.*

1. JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE PROGRAM IN THIS AREA

The Jewish Labor Committee has no specific program in this area, and no personnel assigned primarily to this work. The Jewish Labor

Committee does accept cases involving complaints against unions, and will confer with union leaders in such situations. Outside New York these cases are handled by the local Labor Committee to Combat Intolerance, rather than in the name of the Jewish Labor Committee. In New York State, the cases involving employers which come to JLC's attention are referred to the State Commission Against Discrimination. Volume of such activity is very small.

In activity not of a casework nature, the Jewish Labor Committee has promoted understanding of Fair Employment Practices legislation, and favors such laws at federal, state, and local levels.

2. AN OPTIMUM PRACTICAL PROGRAM

A program must rest upon the basic principle that what is good for the American people is good for the Jews of the United States. Specific attention to the general problem of employment discrimination, and to individual instances of discriminatory practice, must form part of a total program bearing on the major issues, such as housing, price control, etc.

Within this framework, the key issue is the establishment of adequate fair employment practices legislation with enforcement machinery and powers, at all governmental levels, although federal legislation is of unique importance. The Jewish agencies should build their programs, then, about the referral of valid cases to appropriate governmental agencies, but be prepared to follow up special cases which for one reason or another can best be handled privately. In actual casework the educational approach is the preferred one, but public exposure may be resorted to as a last resort in aggravated situations. Every valid complaint should receive some response.

There is no fundamental objection to the existence of more services than one, provided that systematic clearance and coordination prevail. The same employer must never be approached by more than one agency.

Jewish Occupational Council

Approved summary of interview with Mr. Eli E. Cohen, Executive Director, Jewish Occupational Council, August 9, 1946.

1. PROGRAM IN THIS AREA OF

(a) The Jewish Occupational Council

(b) The local Jewish vocational service agencies

(a) The Jewish Occupational Council conceives of its activities as directed towards the broad problems of Jewish economic adjustment; its interest in anti-discrimination work is therefore very deep, and many of its constituents' activities are relevant in a survey of the field. The

J.O.C. itself is not an operating agency, but rather a coordinating body.

(b) At the present time, responsibility for dealing with individual instances of discrimination is vested in the JVS agency in Cincinnati and Milwaukee. At one time the Newark agency had similar responsibility, which is now vested in the Community Relations Committee. In Springfield (Massachusetts) and Los Angeles, steps are being taken toward such responsibility. In other communities with JVS agencies, responsibility is vested either in a special agency (Chicago BJEP) or in a community council; in all of these instances there is a close working relationship, with the JVS agency referring cases of discrimination to the anti-discrimination agency, usually with some preliminary screening. Because the JVS agency must conduct a continuing program of employer relations, it usually participates in the planning of field visiting and other employer contact programs. JVS agencies have a deep interest in employment discrimination work because they are serving applicants who have encountered discrimination, or who may encounter it in the future.

2. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

It is necessary to evaluate separately the different aspects of work in this field. In dealings with employers, for instance, possible criteria might be extent of coverage, adequacy of program for reaching them systematically, value of methods of employer contacts, etc. In work with individuals such criteria as these may be applied: What kinds of information are obtained? What records are kept? Etc. Similarly separate evaluations should be made of other aspects of a total program.

3. AN OPTIMUM PRACTICAL PROGRAM

There are at least six phases of an optimum practical program:

- (a) Research on the incidence and nature of discrimination, in the setting of Jewish economic adjustment problems generally;
- (b) Work with employers;
- (c) Work with unions;
- (d) Work with employment agencies;
- (e) Assistance to individuals complaining of discrimination and all work within the Jewish community directed towards the understanding of employment discrimination and setting basic policy in dealing with it; and
- (f) Public relations work including work with the non-Jewish community.

This latter, which includes information on desirable legislation, is probably the most important, although together they form an integrated program. The work with complainants is a necessary job, but one of secondary importance; its chief value lies in keeping up the morale of the Jewish community by showing that an individual who suffers discrimination can have recourse to an agency which will follow up and

attempt a satisfactory adjustment, and in providing leads for work with the employers.

In no more than 15% of cases, however, does the complainant desire help in securing the job for which he was rejected.

In the major phase of the work, involving the public relations aspects, the more agencies active the more effective the program is likely to be. The same thing is not true of case handling; only one agency in a community should have responsibility for handling cases, since the techniques are more or less standardized, and nothing is to be gained by competition and experimentation by more than one agency. There is some feeling that the JVS agencies should have jurisdiction over dealing with the problems of individuals complaining of discrimination, unless it is determined that the employer's actions stem from deep-seated anti-Semitic prejudice. In such instances, the community relations agency should have jurisdiction, along with over-all responsibility, for the public relations aspects of the work. JVS agencies are a valuable resource in research on discrimination and, in fact, should be given coordinate responsibility with the community relations agency in this aspect of the program. The NCRAC committee should provide that there be one central place in each community for complaints, with strict clearance on all casework activities, especially visits to employers, and most particularly *before* militant action is initiated against any employer.

Jewish Welfare Board

Approved summary of interview with Mr. Louis Kraft, Executive Director, National Jewish Welfare Board, August 9, 1946.

1. PROGRAM IN THIS AREA OF

- (a) The National Jewish Welfare Board
- (b) The local Jewish community centers

(a) The National Jewish Welfare Board is deeply interested in the problem of combatting employment discrimination, although it is not a pressure group and does not engage in such anti-discrimination activities. The National Jewish Welfare Board uses primarily educational methods; its chief aim in connection with employment discrimination is to increase the understanding of the American Jewish community of these problems. Federal and state F.E.P.C. measures are among the few items of legislation to receive an official endorsement, the agency has been active in attempting to line up support, as well as in assembling relevant information and transmitting it to the constituent agencies through its internal publication, "Program Aids," and in various other ways.

The Committees for Service to Veterans, of which over 80 have been established, are local community structures, although the JWB has sponsored their formation. While the problem of discrimination in employment is of vital concern to them, they act through their own appropriate community agencies. The National Jewish Welfare Board is therefore not directly involved in activity on problems of employment discrimination against veterans.

(b) The Jewish Welfare Board's local constituent agencies have engaged in very little activity on problems of employment discrimination beyond general education of their members. In the larger communities, the practice has been to refer all cases to the appropriate community council or other agency. In some smaller communities, the center executive is the only professional Jewish community worker, and in such cases he will handle situations of discrimination which are brought to his attention; but such instances are known to be infrequent, and no systematic effort is made to obtain reports on them.

In New York City, the practice for the forty or so active community centers has been to refer persons complaining of discrimination to the Federal Employment Service, on the assumption that the complainant needs employment assistance.

2. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Adequacy of staff provided for a service is a useful indirect criterion when, as in this instance, it is very difficult to evaluate directly the work done.

3. AN OPTIMUM PRACTICAL PROGRAM

Three essential elements in an optimum practical program are:

(a) Continued activity towards state and federal fair employment practices legislation;

(b) An agency in every community prepared, as one of its functions, to deal effectively with instances of discrimination; and

(c) Constant education of the Jewish community, directed particularly against the danger of complacency on the part of community leadership. For a coordinated program of this sort, there must be centralized control in the hands of an agency that has the confidence of the entire American Jewish community. In each local community, the Community Council should have the primary responsibility. The JVS agency in the community should be involved directly in the planning and activity.

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

National Agencies

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
B'NAI B'RITH
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Local, State, and Regional Agencies

AKRÓN JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
BALTIMORE JEWISH COUNCIL
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN BOSTON
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
BROOKLYN JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
CINCINNATI JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, CLEVELAND, OHIO
DETROIT JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNCIL OF THE JEWISH FEDERATION OF INDIANAPOLIS
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER KANSAS CITY
LOS ANGELES JEWISH COMMUNITY COMMITTEE
MILWAUKEE JEWISH COUNCIL
MINNESOTA JEWISH COUNCIL
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF ESSEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY
NEW HAVEN JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
JEWISH PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNCIL FOR ALAMEDA
AND CONTRA COSTA COUNTIES, CALIFORNIA
PHILADELPHIA JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL
JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL, PITTSBURGH
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, ROCHESTER
JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL OF ST. LOUIS
SOUTHWESTERN JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
JEWISH SURVEY AND B'NAI B'RITH COMMUNITY COMMITTEE OF SAN FRANCISCO

